ResearchGate

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/355116800

Trends in the Economic Development of Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979)

Article *in* Scientific Bulletin of Mukachevo State University Series "Economics" · September 2021

DOI: 10.52566/msu-econ.8(3).2021.102-116

CITATION
1

READS
1,036

1 author:

Den Kupri

12 PUBLICATIONS **2** CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

All content following this page was uploaded by Den Kupri on 16 June 2024.

The user has requested enhancement of the downloaded file.

MUKACHEVO STATE UNIVERSITY

SCIENTIFIC BULLETIN ECONOMICS

Volume 8, No. 3, 102-116
Journal homepage: https://economics-msu.com.ua/en

UDC 330.5
DOI: 10.52566/msu-econ.8(3).2021.102-116

Trends in the Economic Development of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)

Denis Ye. Kupriyanov*

Regional Center for Professional Education in Building Technologies of the Kharkiv Region
61121, 39 Vladislav Zubenko Str., Kharkiv, Ukraine

Abstract. The relevance of the study is conditioned by the need to examine individual historical stages of Cambodia's economic development to establish the basis for further improvement of the economic system. The purpose of the research was to analyse analytically the development of the economy of Democratic Kampuchea and the role of friendly countries in it. The study on the stated subject was conducted using general scientific theoretical research methods, in particular, methods of analysis, synthesis, and comparison. The article examines the economy of Democratic Kampuchea in the middle of the second half of the 70s. It is determined that after gaining full independence from the French colonialists, followed by the struggle for independence against the Americans, and then the Khmer Rouge era, there was a need to restore and improve the country's economy. The study described the general state of the key industries of Democratic Kampuchea, in particular, light, food, agricultural engineering, heavy, electronic, construction, forestry, chemical, rubber, and military; the principles of conducting trade relations with the countries of the socialist and capitalist camps, and the development features of agriculture under the rule of the Khmer Rouge. The results of the analysis showed that during this period the republic managed to restore agriculture and ensure its subsequent growth, and the updated industry was already fully functioning with the help of the friend countries. The practical value of the study is determined by the integral characteristic of the economic system of Democratic Kampuchea, which contributes to the functional solution of the economic problems of modern Cambodia

Keywords: agriculture, economic relations, industry, harvest statistics, socialist and capitalist ideologies

Received: 10.05.2021, Revised: 15.07.2021, Accepted: 20.08.2021

Suggested Citation: Kupriyanov, D.Ye. (2021). Trends in the economic development of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979). *Scientific Bulletin of Mukachevo State University. Series "Economics"*, 8(3), 102-116.

Introduction

From the first days of the liberation of Phnom Penh and the end of the civil war with the victory of the Communists in 1975, Cambodia (at that time Democratic Kampuchea) was taken over by representatives of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, who were popularly called the "Khmer Rouge". The Khmer Rouge decided to abolish all currencies and markets, believing that the remnants of capitalism (and inequality) would not survive without money in circulation, and anyone who trades currency for food or supplies will be beaten or executed for a single violation of the new decree. Notably, many Cambodians still violated these laws and created underground labour camps throughout the country, which exchanged surplus rice for gold and jewellery.

Many scientists specify that the liquidation of the financial system still had a positive impact on the country's economy and contributed to solving the economic problems of Kampuchea, that is, the settlement of debt imposed by the former government of France and the United States, especially since money was virtually worthless at that time [1]. The liquidation also solved internal economic problems: due to the oppressive "socialist" regime of Norodom Sihanouk, the peasantry was mired in debt, by the beginning of the 1960s the usurious debts of the peasants totalled a billion riels, which is one-fifth of the total value of agricultural products [1], and the situation continued to worsen – as a result, the problems with the debt of the peasantry were solved by one decree. Furthermore, after the elimination of money, peasants and workers depended directly on food, which was a good motivation to work better and led to the restoration and recovery of the country's economy.

It is worth noting that the industrial sector of the economy of Democratic Kampuchea was dominated by two industries at once: agricultural engineering and light industry (Fig. 1).

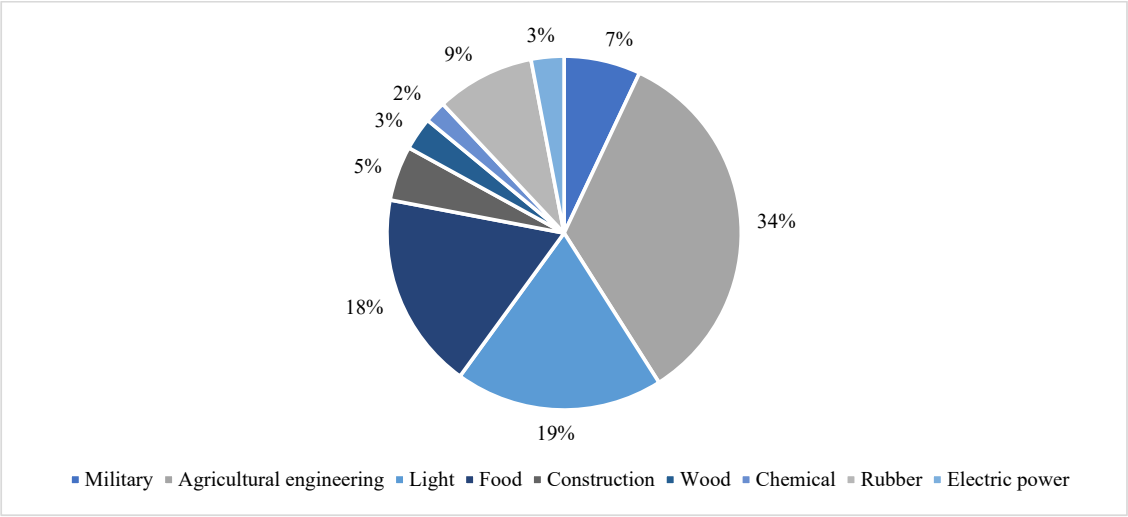

Figure 1. Diagram of the share of different industries in Democratic Kampuchea (including small enterprises)

Before independence, the entire industry of Kampuchea was mostly small, since the French colonisers were not going to develop the periphery – the French were only interested in rubber and latex. After gaining independence, Prince Norodom Sihanouk was in charge of the country development, not by his own efforts, but by the forces of the countries of the two opposing blocs in the world: the socialist and capitalist states had an incomparable influence on the development of Kampuchea. For example, China helped to build textile, paper, plywood factories and a cement plant in the country free of charge; Czechoslovakia paid for the construction of sugar, tractor-automobile, tire, and rubber plants, Czechoslovak specialists participated in their construction; the French built an oil refinery, and the Americans developed social infrastructure [2]. However, the policy of intervention and control of Sihanouk led to the fact that by the end of the 1960s, investment in Kampuchea virtually ceased [2]. After the overthrow of Sihanouk by the pro-American General Lon Nol and the subsequent civil war with the bombing of the Americans, there could be no investments, except the French-built latex factories in Phnom Penh in the middle of the first half of the 1970s [3]. The Khmer Rouge received not only an undeveloped but also a destroyed country with most of the industry demolished and about a third of the roads crushed, which raises the question of how to restore the country's economy in the following years.

The purpose of this study is to examine the features of the restoration of the economy of Democratic Kampuchea after independence; the development of international trade with the countries of the socialist and capitalist camps; the participation of friendly countries in the improvement of the economic state of the republic.

General characteristics of the industries of Democratic Kampuchea

Light industry. The victory in the civil war of the Khmer Rouge did not lead to deindustrialisation, as is erroneously claimed (such information came from Vietnamese propaganda), but to a new stage of industrial development: in

1976, incredibly rapid growth began, mainly due to foreign specialists, donated and purchased equipment. Most of the light industry enterprises were distributed in the Southwestern zone (on the site of today's Kandal province), where the capital of Kampuchea – Phnom Penh was located, as well as in the Northwestern zone, in the "rice bowl" of Cambodia – Battambang. In Battambang, light industry enterprises were built by the Chinese and the French back in the 1960s: the French built a garment and clothing factory, and the Chinese built textile factories. Battambang was in the orbit of the Khmer Rouge at the beginning of the civil war, and a considerable part of the peasants of the province supported them from the very beginning of the uprising. Despite the fact that the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was confidently advancing in the province up to a certain point, the battle for the city of Battambang itself dragged on for a long time, in particular, because the citizens provided all possible assistance to the Lon Nol supporters [1]. The province, similarly to the rest of the country, was bombed by American aircraft and suffered serious destruction. After the victory, most of the urban population was sent to the province, and only factory workers and civil servants remained in the city. Under the Communists, small agricultural enterprises were located in towns and villages, but Battambang was filled with enterprises with more qualified products [3]. New enterprises began to appear in the city, mainly producing clothing and goods for agriculture. Moreover, at the beginning of the Khmer Rouge rule, old factories were restored. Enterprises producing clothing, shoes, hats, and fabrics were tasked to eliminate the shortage of clothing and shoes by 1980, and by 1978 they had succeeded [4]. Light industry occupied second place in the industrial economy after agriculture.

Food industry. The food industry was in third place in terms of dominance in the industrial sector of the economy. Kampuchea exported many different food products, which were processed and produced in properly equipped factories. The food industry also ranked third in the country in terms of the number of enterprises. Food enterprises processed fish, meat, vegetables, fruits, berries, various cereals, nuts, industrial crops, etc. These enterprises produced canned food, fish and vegetable sauces, vegetable oil, ground spices, sugar, salt, coffee, natural dyes, tobacco, and much more. Even before the Khmer Rouge, many food enterprises appeared in the country: a brewery in Kampong Som, built in the 1960s by one of the countries of the socialist bloc and operating to this day, a cane sugar processing plant built by Czechoslovakia in Kampong Speu, rice processing enterprises operated. During the communist rule, new food processing enterprises began to be built: rice and other food processing enterprises appeared in Battambang, and a fish processing plant built by North Korean advisers appeared in Kampong Som. In general, with the support of North Korean, Chinese, and Albanian assistants, enterprises for processing sesame oil in Pailin, factories for the production of fish sauce along the Mekong River and near Tonle Sap Lake, enterprises for the production of beverages, processing of vegetable oil, tobacco, cotton, alcohol, and other products have appeared. Moreover, by 1980, it was planned to build dozens of more new factories for export to the countries of the socialist camp [3].

Agricultural engineering industry. The industrial sector of the economy was dominated by agricultural engineering, which is not surprising, given the Cambodian specific features of communism. However, it would be more precise to name it the tool industry, since, for the most part, it dominated the economy, in fact, it made up the majority of the economy due to artisanal, rather than large-scale factory production. In 1975-1976, more than a hundred factory enterprises resumed their work [2], but only a fifth began to produce for agriculture. Most of the newly opened enterprises were relatively medium-sized enterprises and, most likely, continued to produce what they used to in the pre-war period. Only about 15-20 enterprises were reoriented to the production of agricultural tools and equipment. This can be evidenced by the fact that most of the well-known enterprises continued to operate after the war, and very little is known about the rest at best.

Construction of new large factories and enterprises for the production of agricultural equipment and tools began throughout the country, and thousands of small enterprises were deployed along with them. It is possible to outline a tractor and car assembly plant built in Kampong Som, which was one of the first built by the Czechoslovaks in the early 1960s, a truck assembly plant built by the French, and factories built by the Cambodians themselves for the production of spare parts for tractors, bicycles, and cars, a separate bicycle production plant, mechanical plants, and various enterprises for the repair of agricultural machinery: tractors, trucks, and other equipment [3]. Most associations of communes of districts and subdistricts, called "higher-level cooperatives" (these cooperatives completely replaced lower-level cooperatives in 1977) [5] had their own small enterprises. They were mainly engaged in the artisanal and manual production of agricultural tools (scissors, knives, axes, ploughs, etc.), dishes were also produced there – this was mandatory prescribed in the Four-Year Plan [4]. Small enterprises, of which there were more than a thousand in the country, were equipped with modern machines and even processing units.

Heavy industry. In Democratic Kampuchea, in addition to light industry enterprises, there were also heavy industry enterprises. In 1975, there were about twenty heavy industry facilities in the country, some of them: an oil refinery in Kampong Som, a cement plant in Kampot, a tire and rubber plant in Tahmau, a truck assembly plant in Kampong Som, a latex plant in Phnom Penh, the Kirirom hydroelectric power plant. All these enterprises were built by foreigners: an oil refinery, a latex plant, a truck assembly plant – by the French, a tire and rubber plant – by the Czechoslovaks, a cement plant – by the Chinese, a hydroelectric power plant – by the Yugoslavs [6]. After the victory in the Khmer Rouge civil war, starting in 1976, when the sale of rice and other agricultural products began to bring

the first income, and the country mostly recovered from the war, incredibly rapid industrial growth began. Regarding the number of heavy industry factories at the end of 1978, before the invasion of Vietnam, there were more than three hundred facilities, these were power plants and hydroelectric power plants, metallurgical and mechanical plants, sawmills, enterprises for latex processing, production of rubber and tires, construction materials factories, and so on – this is four times more than it was under the rule of Norodom Sihanouk and three and a half times less than it was under the "democracy" of Lon Nol.

Electric power industry and electronic industry. Even during the reign of the "Buddhist socialist" Norodom Sihanouk, several electric power enterprises were built in the country, about ten in total. Some of them are the Kamchai hydroelectric power station built by Soviet specialists [6], east of Kampong Som, which supplied electricity to Kampong Som, Kampot, and other neighbouring cities, the Kirirom hydroelectric power station built by the Yugoslavs (restored by the first of all hydroelectric power stations, in fact), the Prakthnot hydroelectric power station built by international economic organisations [6], and the power plant built by the French in Kampong Som. Besides the point, dams were also built next to these hydroelectric power plants, the dam of the latter provided regular irrigation from 70 thousand to 90 thousand hectares of land [4]. During the war, the power plant in Kampong Som and the city itself were seriously damaged, and the hydroelectric power plants were simply abandoned. At this time, in the capital of the country, Phnom Penh, electricity was supplied every other day and for several hours, in other cities, there was no electricity at all. Kampong Som was particularly hard hit during the war: the city was the last stronghold of American troops who left Cambodia in a hurry and a huge warehouse of food and weapons. The infrastructure was destroyed during the war, and the American bombing, arranged as a result of the Mayaguez incident, aggravated the situation: the port was seriously damaged, the oil refinery was destroyed, and other industrial facilities of the city were also affected.

First, with the help of Chinese specialists and North Korean advisers, a port and a power plant, a tractor-auto assembly plant were re-established in the city, later, clothing factories, a truck assembly plant, and other enterprises were restored; new enterprises were built, the Kampong Som-Phnom Penh road built by the Americans was reconstructed. After the victory of the Communists in the civil war, one of the first enterprises was restored by the Kirirom hydroelectric power station, North Korean specialists reconstructed the power plant in Kampong Som and then the remaining electric power enterprises, yet not all of them were re-established. The Khmer Rouge paid great attention to the electric power industry, constantly buying electric generators from socialist and capitalist countries. Furthermore, the socialist countries themselves provided electrical equipment to Kampuchea: China supplied three industrial diesel-electric generators in 1975 as aid, and North Korea supplied hydroelectric generators for irrigation facilities in 1975-1976. In Hong Kong, through which 90% of foreign trade turnover with capitalist countries passed, electric generators and equipment for electric power enterprises were also purchased [6]. In Kampuchea, there were factories for the production of electric batteries, mechanical and electrical items and equipment, with priority given to the latter: the share of production of electric machines in Kampuchea exceeded the share of some other countries in the Asian region.

Construction and forestry industry. The first full-fledged large-scale construction enterprise appeared in Cambodia in the 1960s – it was a cement plant in Kampot, built by the Chinese. This plant became the main supplier of building materials in the country, however, being at a standstill, by the end of the 1960s, the country stopped developing, and the subsequent civil war destroyed the plant. After the victory of the Khmer Rouge, the cement plant was restored by Chinese specialists in the first order, which opened the way to the revival of the country destroyed by the war [3]. Next, a factory for the production of glass and glass containers was restored, also built by the Chinese in the 1960s. Later, the construction of new factories began. According to the Four-Year Plan, factories and plants that produce cement, fibre cement, bricks, tiles, sand, gravel and process stone were to appear in the country. In the middle of the second half of the 1970s, Kampuchea purchased equipment in China for the construction of a brick factory. Most likely, in the future, factories for the production of tiles, processing of sand, gravel, stone, blocks, sheet metal, and others would have been built, if Kampuchea had not been occupied by Vietnam.

There were also forest-related enterprises in Kampuchea. There were several sawmills in the country, plywood and paper factories built by the Chinese in the 1960s, as well as furniture factories and handicraft enterprises that produce tables, chairs, cabinets, and other furniture. Kampuchea has extensively exported valuable tropical wood species to China, Albania, and Thailand. For example, only in 1975, 2.2 thousand tons of valuable wood were delivered to China. The Communist Party has set a requirement for the enterprises of the paper industry to produce educational and office supplies to a sufficient extent.

Chemical and rubber industry. In the chemical industry, as some sources show, everything was scarce. Most of them produced organic fertilisers, the production of which most likely accounted for the lion's share of the production of the entire chemical industry. The production of natural fertilisers in 1977 was approximately 5.6 million tons, and by 1980 the production was expected to grow to about 8.9 million tons [5]. By the end of 1978, Kampuchea was producing approximately 6.9 million tons of organic fertilisers per year. This is not little, for comparison, Ukraine produced a little more mineral fertilizers, on the eve of joining the WTO. However, there was a production of ammonium, calcium chloride, paint, acids necessary for enterprises (for example, the same acids for rubber processing enterprises), and other things. Soap and dye factories operated in the country along with other enterprises manufacturing hygiene products. The rubber industry was in a different situation.

Even in the colonial era, enterprises for the extraction and processing of rubber appeared in Cambodia, due to the fact that Cambodian rubber was in demand in France. After gaining independence from France, several more rubber industry enterprises appeared in Cambodia: a tire factory and a tire-rubber plant, both built by the Czechoslovaks in the 1960s, but this applies to large enterprises, there were also small private enterprises engaged in the processing of rubber and related substances. Moreover, in the first half of the 1970s, the French deployed latex factories in Phnom Penh, which were the only ones in the country that earned hard currency. After the victory in the civil war, the Communists were fully engaged in the development of the rubber industry. Rubber was one of the main sources of currency for which the Khmer Rouge bought equipment, medicines, and so on. Gradually, the increase in rubber production began, with the help of Chinese specialists. From 1977 to 1980, the Khmer Rouge expected to receive seventy million dollars from the sale of rubber, this money was to go to the construction of industrial facilities, including the development of the rubber industry. New factories were being restored, expanded, and built in the Eastern and Northern zones. Since 1977, the full-scale development of rubber processing plants of all types has begun. It was also necessary to provide for industry and agriculture. Much attention was paid to the production of tires, as stated in the Four-Year Plan.

Military industry. Before the Communists came to power, there were only two large military enterprises in the country which were accurately known – a factory for the repair of military equipment and a factory for the production of cartridges, the latter was built in 1969 by the Czechoslovak state company "Sellier & Bellot" [7], the military equipment, perhaps, was indirectly produced at two more enterprises: the tractor-car assembly plant built by the Czechoslovaks and the truck assembly plant built by the French, both were located in Kampong Som. Everything else was either purchased by the royal government, and then by the Lon Nol government from the friendly countries, or was acquired as a gift. The royal army with outdated French weapons had to be re-equipped. Thus, in addition to military specialists, planes, anti-aircraft guns, firearms, and other means came from the Soviet Union [6]. Later, the army increased considerably, and more than one hundred and thirty thousandth army of General Lon Nol had to be armed for the war against the communists and the peasants supporting them, for which the Americans provided the general with funds in the amount of $ 1.8 billion [6], but the army was still armed in large numbers with the same outdated weapons, despite the rich trophies.

After the victory of the Khmer Rouge in the war, with the help of Chinese specialists, it was planned to build about forty factories and enterprises for military purposes: for the production of gunpowder, weapons, ammunition, armoured structures, military vehicles, artillery, tanks, and so on [3]. Chinese specialists restored a factory for the production of cartridges, expanded the capacity of a factory for the repair of military equipment, and began the construction of new military enterprises, in particular, it was planned to build a completely new, large weapons production plant in the suburbs of Phnom Penh, which was supposed to employ two thousand workers [3]. However, according to statistics, the Chinese were more concerned about military infrastructure facilities, such as bases, airfields, etc., than the military-industrial complex [8]. For example, the military airfield in Kampong Chhnang Krang Leav, which was the main receiver of Chinese aid, was built by Chinese specialists [9], they also restored and expanded the naval base in Kampong Som, repaired roads, built bases and ports along the Mekong River, and even the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea was armed not so much with its own weapons as with Chinese ones. Certainly, Kampuchea had certain military enterprises, however, for the most part, those were mainly repair enterprises.

In addition to the above-mentioned branches of the Kampuchea industry, there were a couple of other industries: mining and metallurgical [4]. Regarding these industries, it is known that they existed and operated poorly – metallurgical enterprises were still not launched, and despite the great efforts of the Chinese, it was not possible to create a full-fledged metallurgical industry in Kampuchea, and the mining industry, in general, was neglected due to development of light and heavy industry, and although the country was mining precious stones, coal, iron, and other minerals, mining was carried out at colonial small enterprises by the efforts of local authorities [10]. There was another branch – medical. Despite the fact that a pharmacological factory built with the support of Chinese specialists operated in the country, and the Four-Year Plan separately indicated the need for the production of medical things, such as bandages, scalpels, glasses, and other things for which medical equipment was purchased, little is known about this industry. There was never a reason to build a medical industry in the country: medicines in the country were either traditional medicine or imported, and medical equipment for treatment began to be purchased en masse only under the communists. In Kampuchea, there were attempts to build an oil refining industry based on an oil refinery previously built by the French. Nevertheless, the American bombing during the Mayaguez incident severely damaged the oil refinery, which is why all attempts by Chinese specialists to restore and put the plant into operation were unsuccessful. In December 1977, the head design Institute of the People's Republic of China prepared submittals for the construction of a new oil refinery [3], but the plant was never built.

International trade of Democratic Kampuchea with the countries of the Socialist camp

Democratic Kampuchea traded a lot and very actively. For trade with the socialist countries, the Kampuchea Foreign Trade Company (KFTC) was established, the main partners of which were Chinese foreign trade organisations. It should be noted that none of the KFTC accounts contained money. Payment for goods was made in various forms, mostly based on mutual settlements, at a time when money did not move.

To conduct foreign trade financial operations, the Bank for Foreign Trade was established, which closely cooperated with the Central Bank of China [3]. China paid for the lion's share of Democratic Kampuchea imports from capitalist and socialist countries.

The People's Republic of China. In the first year of the Communists' coming to power, 2.4 thousand tons of rubber, 2.2 thousand tons of valuable wood, 200 tons of black pepper, 113 tons of coconuts, and 39 tons of medicinal plant seeds were exported to China [10]. Kampuchea exported to China a huge variety of different products and goods: rice, rubber, fish, shrimp, meat, beans, green beans, sugar, pepper, fruits, valuable wood species, natural dyes, herbal products of traditional medicine, rare minerals, various skins, elephant tusks, buffalo and deer horns, copra, crepe, kapok, lotus seeds, strychnine, white sesame, coffee beans, and much more. In turn, various equipment was imported from China for the construction of railways, brick factories, bicycles, and other industrial enterprises. Moreover, medicines, petroleum products, kerosene, fabrics and threads, clothing, light industry products, steel, cast iron, coke, mineral fertilizers, wheat, tractors, bulldozers, diesel locomotives, electric generators, tugs, road rollers, electric saws, movie cameras, movies, film projectors, hoes, shovels, bicycles, various tools, and many other goods were purchased [3]. At the end of 1978, that is, before the Vietnamese invasion, the volume of trade turnover was more than forty-two million dollars, where the share of China's exports was twenty-five million, and Kampuchea – seventeen million dollars. China was the primary partner for Kampuchea even under the monarchical regime of Norodom Sihanouk and during the Sino-Soviet split [11].

Among other things, China provided Kampuchea with a loan in the amount of about twenty-five million dollars for the purchase of equipment and petroleum products from China, as well as twenty million dollars to cover the liability of Democratic Kampuchea in foreign trade with the countries of the capitalist camp. Formally, the agreement stipulated the terms of an interest-free loan with payment within five to six years. The loan repayment period could be extended up to thirty years [3].

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Trade relations between Kampuchea and Korea began on November 24, 1977, when Democratic Kampuchea and the DPRK signed the first trade agreement, which provided for mutual settlement in pounds sterling and equivalent trade exchange of five million pounds sterling on each side. Kampuchea exported a lot of agricultural and textile products to North Korea, but most of them were crepe, rubber, white sesame, and soy, and Kampuchea imported from North Korea products of the engineering, steel, chemical and textile industries, minerals, lathes, drills, and all kinds of tools up to the most basic [3]. Democratic Kampuchea and the DPRK regularly exchanged trade and economic, government, and public delegations. North Korea was generally the second trading partner of Kampuchea, second only to China in trade [9].

People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Despite the active support of the Khmer Rouge by the Albanians during the war, Kampuchea-Albanian relations developed very sluggishly. In fact, in the matter of diplomacy, everything was limited to the visits of trade and economic delegations of Democratic Kampuchea to Albania and vice versa. The first visit of such a trade and economic delegation took place in October 1976 and this was the first time that a delegation of Democratic Kampuchea visited a European country, the following year Albanian delegations visited Kampuchea. Albania had its own embassy in Phnom Penh, which actively maintained contacts between the two countries, until the deterioration of relations in 1978. Trade was rather as modest as diplomacy between the two countries. Nevertheless, Kampuchea exported rubber, coconuts, and valuable hard tropical wood species to Albania in a decent amount. The import was not so large: Kampuchea imported tractors, other agricultural equipment, and feature films of Albanian production [3]. However, there is reason to believe that trade between the two countries was barter [12].

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The first discussions about the possible trade of Kampuchea with Yugoslavia began in August 1976, when the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement took place in Colombo, at the same time, the Chairman of the State Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, Khieu Samphan, and the President of Yugoslavia, Broz Tito, met and talked about possible cooperation. After that, in early autumn, Kampuchea diplomats visited Yugoslavia twice, including Foreign Minister Ieng Sary himself, as a result of which the first trade agreements were concluded [3]. In February 1977, following the visit of the trade and economic delegation of Yugoslavia to Democratic Kampuchea, an agreement on trade and economic cooperation was signed. The first Yugoslav ship arrived in Kampuchea with a cargo of tractors and other agricultural and industrial equipment in December 1976, in the amount of three million dollars. After that, imports from Yugoslavia expanded slightly, and fabrics needed for the Kampuchea light industry began to be supplied from Yugoslavia to Kampuchea. Kampuchea itself mostly supplied only rice. The Yugoslav Red Cross, along with other branches of the Red Cross, sent medicines to Kampuchea free of charge. The Red Cross generally supplied medicines and purchase funds to Kampuchea even before the war, as an example: the Swiss Red Cross provided twenty-eight thousand Swiss francs to the Khmer after the outbreak of the civil war [13]. Cambodia had deeply cooperated with Yugoslavia even before the war, it was also the founder of the Non-Aligned Movement along with Yugoslavia, and Tito himself was very good friends with Sihanouk. After the war and the rise of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to power, relations continued to improve. It got to the point that the Yugoslav leaders promised to provide Kampuchea with economic assistance in the amount of two billion dollars [3], but this never happened.

The Socialist Republic of Romania. The Romanian Embassy in Phnom Penh appeared in October 1976. Romania

was the only Warsaw Pact country that was considered a friendly country by the Khmer Rouge. Trade relations did not have time to gain large-scale momentum, as the leaders of both countries expected. Romania virtually did not buy anything from Kampuchea, but sold canned fish to it and planned to build a large fish cannery for processing fish somewhere near the Kampuchea coast, for which Romanian fishermen had to catch fish [3]. However, there is evidence that Kampuchea bought much more goods from Romania, including firearms and even military river vessels, and in 1979 it intended to sign a "full-scale military-technical cooperation agreement", allegedly involving the supply of firearms, air defence equipment, artillery pieces, etc., in exchange for a number of goods: from rice and rubber to precious stones of the Kampuchea mountains [14].

Trade relations of Democratic Kampuchea with the countries of the capitalist camp

Kampuchea also traded quite actively with capitalist countries. To create a platform for trade with capitalist countries, in October 1976, Khmer Rouge emissaries secretly arrived in Hong Kong, where the Kampuchea foreign trade firm Ren Fung was then established. The invoices of this firm for the purchases made were paid by one of the Chinese banks in Hong Kong, serving the foreign trade operations of the PRC, and the firm itself was a shell through which Kampuchea purchased goods in the west. The intelligence agencies of the United States and Great Britain, knowing that the Khmer Rouge were in charge of the Ren Fung firm, did not prevent its transactions with Western businessmen [3].

Great Britain and Hong Kong. The main trading partner among the capitalist countries was Great Britain. 90% of the foreign trade turnover with the countries of the capitalist camp passed through British Hong Kong, which in 1976-78 reached almost twenty-five million dollars [11]. Kampuchea bought medicines, potatoes, flour, petroleum products, mineral fertilisers, electrical equipment, products of the chemical, metallurgical, and engineering industries, complete equipment for a pharmaceutical factory, industrial facilities, film equipment, spare parts for cars from the British in Hong Kong; in 1977-78, an unknown British company sold large quantities of chemical industry products necessary for the production of rubber to the Khmer Rouge: citric and formic acid, aluminium sulfate, insecticides, potash alum, as well as special chemicals for processing rubber [15].

Democratic Kampuchea supplied rubber, rice, corn, fish, wood, skins of various animals to British Hong Kong, most of them were panther and tiger skins, and other goods of plant and animal origin [3]. However, only a certain part of the goods supplied by Kampuchea to Hong Kong was bought up by British companies, many other goods were bought up by local trading firms in Hong Kong: large, medium, and small trading companies literally flooded the Kampuchea emissaries with requests for the purchase of forest and agricultural products: fish, ordinary and red corn, rice, cows, buffaloes, meat, as well as rubber [9]. Britain, in general, was the second capitalist country that began to trade with Kampuchea, Thailand was the first, and the United States became the third country.

The United States of America. At that time, the leadership of the United States made a lot of efforts to normalise relations with Democratic Kampuchea, despite the recent war in which the Americans played a fatal role. To normalise relations, despite the economic sanctions embargo Democratic Kampuchea adopted by the US House of Representatives in 1977, the US government conducted trade with Kampuchea, while giving protection to businessmen who want to sell their products in Kampuchea and organisations who want to help Kampuchea.

For the first time, Kampuchea bought goods from the American market in 1976, when four hundred tons of antimalarial medicines were purchased from the American pharmaceutical company Montrose Chemical Corporation, for which Kampuchea paid 450 thousand dollars. This purchase was the first step towards improving relations between Kampuchea and the United States. At the end of 1976, there was a trade deal between Kampuchea and the United States for the supply of DDT insecticide to Kampuchea in the amount of 455 thousand dollars, approximately 162.5 tons [1]. For American suppliers, this was an extremely profitable deal, since DDT was banned in the United States in 1972 [1]. It was also a good deal for Kampuchea since this famous chemical allowed reducing the incidence of malaria, especially characteristic of the northwestern part of the country, where the most malarial jungles are located. In 1977, Kampuchea had already agreed with several American companies on the supply of medical equipment and medicines to Kampuchea, despite the embargo [3]. America, which bombed Cambodia and made hundreds of thousands of people disabled, supplied Cambodia with medicines and medical equipment to Kampuchea hospitals to treat these same people with disabilities. American charitable organisations began to supply medicines to Kampuchea in batches, "American Friends Service Committee" donated more than one batch of medicines to Kampuchea through China [3]. Although it is a denied fact.

Thailand. Initially, the Khmer Rouge was hostile to Thailand, based on territorial disputes and historical enmity. However, from the very beginning, Kampuchea and Thailand were on quite favourable terms. On April 24, 1975, the Khmer Rouge withdrew the entire civilian population from Poipet under the pretext of a hypothetical attack on the city by Thai troops, but the attack did not follow, and the next day local Communist Party functionaries sent a delegation to negotiate with official Thai representatives about the conditions of border trade. The local communists behaved quite gently with the Thai local authorities. Perhaps this was due to the remoteness of Phnom Penh and weak central government at that time, or the result of some political differences between local and central leaders, as evidenced by the shooting of the secretary of the Northwestern Zone Ros Nhim on charges of spying for Thailand in 1977.

Thailand suddenly became the very first country with which Kampuchea began to trade. Cross-border trade was in full swing: gasoline, rice, medicines, salt, and clothing were mostly transported from Thailand to Kampuchea, for which the Khmer Rouge paid with American dollars and even gold products [3]. Until the end of 1975, Khmer and Thais, as well as official representatives of the local authorities of the two countries, crossed the Khmer-Thai border quite freely. Thai and Kampuchea border guards did not interfere with border trade. Moreover, Thai businessmen from the city of Aranyaprathet provided a loan of 20 million baht to local representatives of the Communist Party in Poipet [3]. During the official visit to Bangkok of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, Ieng Sari, in October 1975, a joint communique was signed, which expressed the intention to exchange ambassadors and create mixed communication groups at the border. The development of bilateral trade was also discussed. The Khmer Rouge intended to buy sugar, refined oil, and a lot of salt in Thailand. Thailand was to become the main supplier of salt for the Kampuchea fish processing enterprises. For its part, Kampuchea intended to supply wood and smoked fish to Thailand [3].

Economic agreements and treaties were concluded between Kampuchea and Thailand from the very beginning of Communist rule until their overthrow, with the exception of one temporary period between 1976-1977. From Thailand, Kampuchea received sugar, flour, potatoes, carrots, soybeans, lettuce, radishes, peanuts, cabbage and lettuce seeds, salt, clothing, raincoats, knives, axes, sickles, charcoal, penicillin, quinine, vitamins, petroleum products, sulfuric acid, mechanical equipment, spare parts, paints, fabrics, nylon bags, and other goods. Kampuchea exported rice and rubber to Thailand along with raw and smoked fish. Relations between Democratic Kampuchea and Thailand improved to the point that in September there were negotiations on the extradition of Lon Nol criminals, but a month later a right-wing coup took place in Thailand and the new right-wing military leadership turned Thailand away from Kampuchea, which sharply worsened relations with the latter. However, a year later, relations were restored, and the active trade continued.

Singapore. After the Communists won the Vietnam and Cambodia wars, the governments of Southeast Asian countries began to fear that communism would spread to them, which is why they constantly treated the Red Countries of Indochina with caution and hostility. Such relations were inconvenient for Kampuchea. In the spring of 1977, the Foreign Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Ieng Sari, met with the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore and assured him of the extreme unwillingness of Kampuchea to create a so-called "Indochina Union" with Vietnam. Therewith, he confirmed the intention of Kampuchea to develop good-neighbourly political and trade relations with the ASEAN countries and Singapore [3] which was considered by the Khmer Rouge as an important market for the sale of Kampuchea rice. After that, rice supplies went to Singapore. However, the trade and economic cooperation between Kampuchea and Singapore was not limited only to the supply of rice: Kampuchea also supplied rubber and fruit to Singapore. In May 1977, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea discussed in Singapore the prospects for the development of bilateral cooperation in the fields of maritime navigation and telecommunications, with the latter Kampuchea had trouble. In 1978, a Kampuchea commercial centre was opened in Singapore, intended to establish trade relations with Western European countries [3], perhaps Singapore would have become a second Hong Kong for Kampuchea.

Madagascar. The Khmer Rouge considered Africa not only as a promising continent for the revolutionary struggle, for which they invited and trained some African revolutionary groups but also as an important market for rice. Deliveries to Africa of Kampuchea rice, which was paid for in a freely convertible currency, began in 1977, but the Khmer Rouge managed to sell only the first batch sent to Madagascar. Further promising trade was interrupted by tension with Vietnam and the further Vietnamese occupation, the details of which are unknown [3].

Features of public agriculture in Democratic Kampuchea

In 1975, Cambodia was in a poor state: a five-year civil war destroyed all agriculture, the countryside was littered with mines, some of it with poisonous chemicals "Agen Orange", a third of the infrastructure was demolished, furthermore, more than two million refugees from villages moved to the cities because of the war and bombing. The Khmer Rouge began their rule by evacuating the urban population to the countryside to take them to places where food was produced, primarily rice. This was more feasible than delivering rice to cities to which there were no roads suitable for transportation in large quantities [1]. The evacuated citizens, mostly peasant refugees who had fled from the war to the cities, arrived in the countryside to collect rice. Most of the refugees returned to the same place from where they came, while others who did not inspire confidence in the new government went to the north to clear the jungle [1]. Citizens who were not refugees were sent to various parts of the country by distribution for work and re-education, and the attitude towards them varied in different regions. However, some of the citizens still returned back to the cities – these were workers of enterprises that the country urgently needed [4].

By the end of 1975, the first post-war rice was harvested, which amounted to about seven hundred thousand tons and was used to feed the Cambodians: members of the agricultural communes were allocated 250 grams of rice per day, and workers of industrial enterprises 350 grams per day [8]. In the following years, as the yields increased, the daily consumption rates of rice increased. In the same year, with the great help of China and the resulting fairly rapid recovery of agriculture, rice yields in Kampuchea began to gradually increase.

The growth in rural workers was expected to lead

first to a rapid recovery from the war, and then to an increase in the yields of rice and other crops. The most striking example of the effectiveness of resettlement is the Northwestern zone, the population of which grew from 908 thousand in 1968 to 1.79 million people [1]. In the northwest, many irrigation structures were built (according to some sources, more than a hundred), tens of thousands of hectares of new land were developed, moreover, jungles began to be cleared to get more land [1] (although the idea turned out to be too large-scale and difficult to reach). Battambang, a northwestern province and one of the components of the Northwestern zone (present-day Pursat, Pailin, and Battambang provinces), is still called the "rice bowl of Cambodia" since it produces the most rice in the country (Fig. 2, 3).

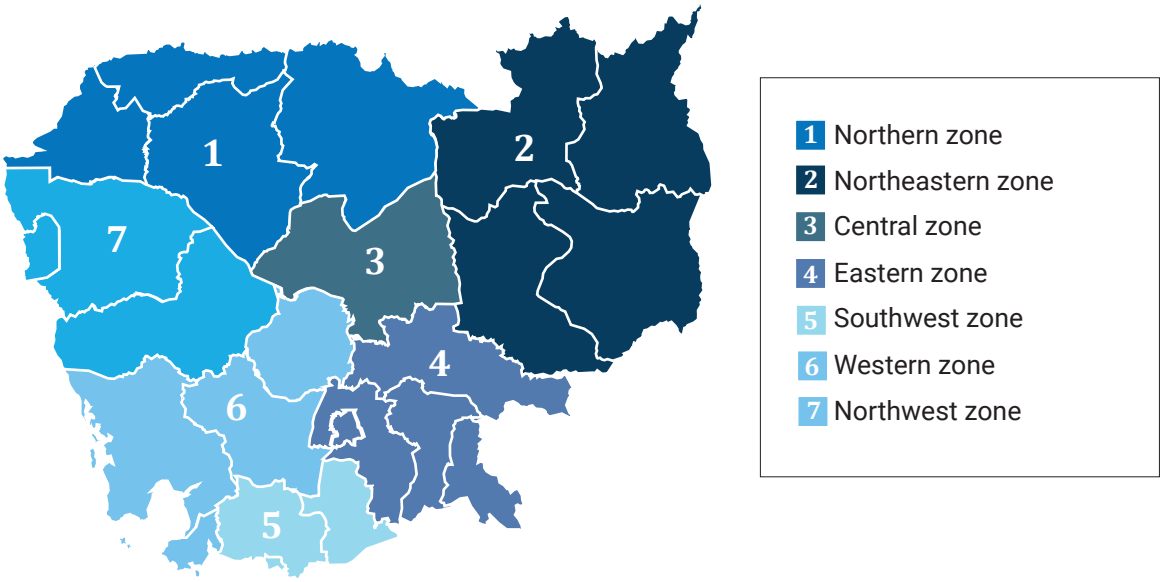

Figure 2. Map of rice production efficiency in Democratic Kampuchea (according to the past administrative division)

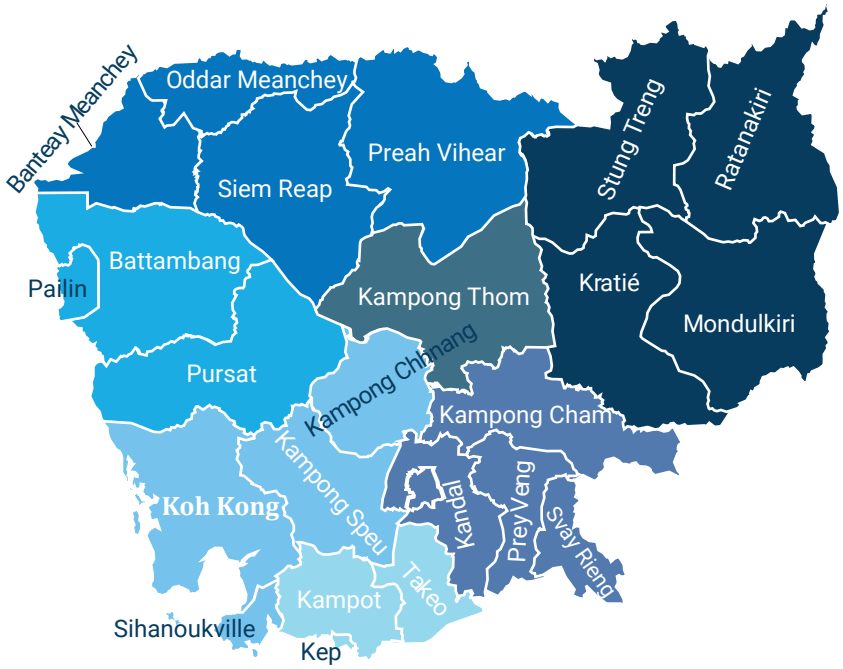

Figure 3. Map of rice production efficiency in Democratic Kampuchea (according to the modern administrative division)

At the end of the 70s, there were 50 thousand hectares of high-quality land in the province (that is, from which rice was harvested twice a year). The "Party's Four-year plan for building socialism in all spheres" assumed an increase in the area of arable high-quality land from 60 thousand hectares in 1977 to 200 thousand hectares in 1980, which was supposed to provide 40% of the total double rice harvest in the country and 45% of all exported rice [1], especially

considering that Battambang is the "Cambodian rice bowl". According to the same plan, a network of dams and canals was built, as well as reservoirs throughout the country, which was necessary for the improvement of the territory where rice was extracted [4]. This was a huge success: in 1977, there was a drought in the country, but with the irrigation facilities it caused much less damage than it potentially could. According to the plans, the annual rice harvest at that time was supposed to reach 4.6 million tons, of which 1.3 million tons would be intended for export, and 3.3 million tons for domestic consumption [3].

The pre-war level of harvest of rice remained at the level of about 2.4 million tons of rice in 1960-1969, until it fell to about 600 thousand tons of rice in 1970, 500 thousand tons of rice in 1971, 400 thousand tons in 1972 and 1973, and 250 thousand tons of rice in 1974 [12]. In general, the harvest in Cambodia for 1975 was about a million tons of rice, of which only seven hundred thousand tons were directly subordinate to the central government (this was due to the fact that the central government in Phnom Penh at that moment had not yet established itself in the whole country, the power of the central government would finally be established only in 1976), in 1976, the rice harvest reached the pre-war level – 2.3 million tons of rice, in 1977, the yield virtually reached three million tons of rice, which was unattainable before the New history of Cambodia, in 1978, the yield was about 2.7 million tons of rice, and in 1979 it fell again – to 700 thousand tons of rice [16] (Fig. 4, 5).

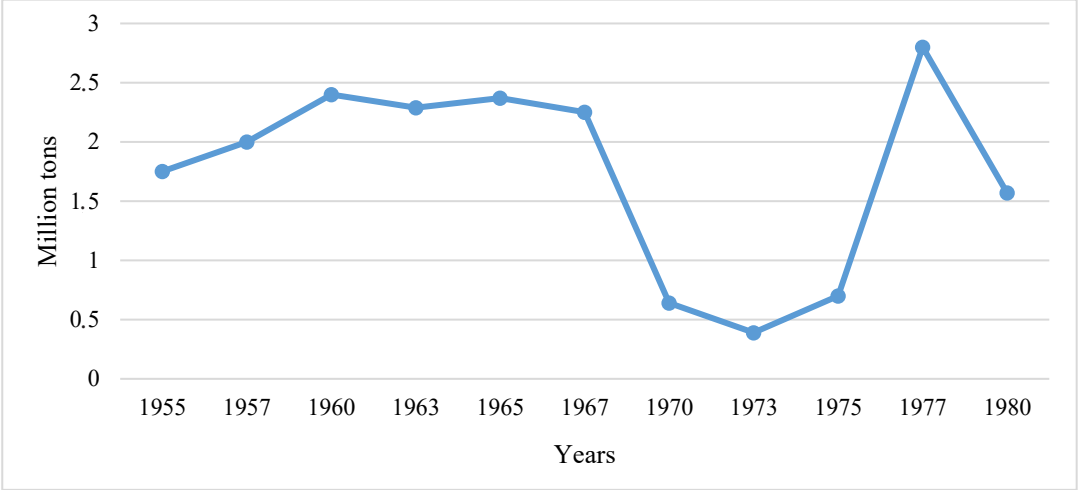

Figure 4. Statistics of rice harvesting in Cambodia from 1955 to 1980 (by Governments)
Note: These graphs represent approximate data and may be inconsistent

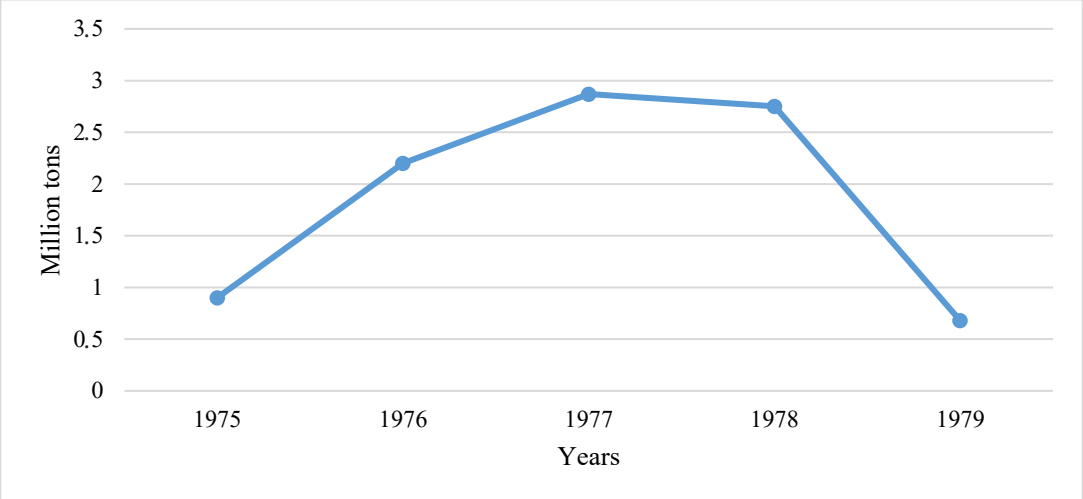

Figure 5. Statistics on the growth of rice production in Democratic Kampuchea
Note: These graphs represent approximate data and may be inconsistent

Back in 1976, two agreements on trade and economic cooperation were signed between China and Kampuchea, according to which in 1976 Kampuchea sold 150 thousand tons of rice to China, and in 1977 – 480 thousand tons [16]. The Foreign Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Ieng Sari, explained the increase in rice exports: "For the first time, we have surplus rice that we can export. We are already able to fully meet our own food needs". There was a surplus of rice in Kampuchea, which increased annually. In 1976-1977, Kampuchea donated more than three thousand tons of rice

to Laos, thereby solving the problem of hunger created by Thailand, which declared an economic blockade of socialist Laos [3].

Corn and legumes in Kampuchea were referred to as "additional crops" – the so-called plant crops, which constituted the human diet, in addition to the most common plant – rice. Since these crops were additional, that is, secondary, they were assigned a secondary role in the Four-Year Plan, despite the fact that the plan indicated the demand for corn, in particular red corn, as well as legumes, as important for food and export, since they were exported to China and Thailand in large quantities, there was no question about increasing and expanding the land left after the war for beans and corn, unlike vegetables and fruits. For the export of corn, beans, other cereals, vegetables, and fruits, in general, it was expected to receive twenty-nine million dollars, which, in contrast to the planned seventy million dollars from the export of most of the rubber and a huge variety of "additional crops", demonstrates the Khmer Rouge's disinterest in large exports of the popular tropical fruits. Most of the corn and legumes grew in the "rice bowl" of Cambodia-Battambang (Northwestern Zone) and in Kampong Thom (Eastern Zone), along the Mekong River.

The pre-war harvest of various types of corn in 1969 totalled approximately 500 thousand tons, yet after the war, the corn harvest amounted to about 240 thousand tons in 1975, in subsequent years, the corn harvest remained near the level of 250 thousand tons [16]. There are no data about the yield of legumes in these years. However, there is information about the yield of grain crops in general: in 1969, the yield of grain crops, including legumes, was more than two million tons of grain, by 1975, the yield of grain decreased more than four times – to 450 thousand tons, in the future, after a slight increase in the next two years by 15%, that is, to 520 thousand tons, in 1978, the grain harvest was less than 400 thousand [16], most likely due to a reduction in the amount of land for grain.

Fruits and vegetables were outlined by the Four-year Plan as necessary for the sustenance of the population. According to the Four-year plan, everyone had to be 100% provided with fresh, dried, and canned vegetables, the export of vegetables was not planned, unlike fruits: bananas, papayas, mangoes, oranges, cream apples, lemons, pineapples, jackfruit, mangosteen, and durian were to be exported, they were also exported to China and Singapore. More land was allocated for vegetables and fruits than for corn, in particular, the number of territories for root crops doubled – from 6.9 thousand hectares in 1975 to 13.4 thousand hectares in 1978 (Table 1) [4]. Notably, great attention was paid to the fruit, since most of the money from the sale of fruits (about seven-eight million dollars of eleven million) would be spent on the construction of railways across the country, and the event was supposed to cost about a hundred million dollars. Unlike fruits, vegetables were exclusively for domestic consumption, although more than five thousand hectares of additional land were allocated for vegetables in total, much less attention was paid to vegetables than to beans.

Table 1. The area of allocated land for root and fruit crops in 1975-1978

	1975	1976	1977	1978
Root crops	6,900 ha	9,420 ha	12,500 ha	13,400 ha
Fruit crops	74,000 ha	74,000 ha	73,500 ha	64,000 ha

As for *fisheries*, most fish were caught in the provinces adjacent to the largest lake in Indochina – Tonle Sap, which flows into the largest river of Kampuchea – the Mekong. Especially large fish production took place in the Western and Eastern zones (the provinces of Kampong Chhnang and Kampong Cham, respectively), where the river flows into the lake. The lake itself is generally called the "Cambodian Inland Sea", and its name is translated from Khmer as "Big Lake". Annually, during the rainy season, the lake overflows for tens of kilometres, which supplies the nearest lands with fertile silt and makes the surrounding lands extremely fertile. Perhaps even more fertile than the Ukrainian chernozem. The lake is extremely rich in fish: Tonle Sap Lake is one of the most productive freshwater lakes for fish production in the world [17] (Fig. 6).

Furthermore, fish were caught in the Central Zone (Kampong Thom Province): there was a wide production of wild fish, and in coastal zones, such as the Southeastern, there was a production of sea fish. Various types of fish were exported: dried to China, smoked to Thailand, ordinary to Hong Kong to British markets. There were old fish processing plants operating in the country and new ones were opened in large quantities, for example: with the support of the Koreans, a fish processing plant was opened in Kampong Som. The Kampuchea Communists may have paid greater attention to the fishing industry than it seems in the Four-Year plan, based on the fact that they prioritised attracting investment in the fishing industry, and in contrast to the limited information about other agricultural sectors, there is a lot of information about how Romanians, Chinese, Albanians, North Koreans, and even the Yugoslavs intended to build factories and enterprises in the fishing industry.

Salt mining in the southwest was established long before the Khmer Rouge, and it was water salt, under the Khmer Rouge, salt mines began to open, which in total employed about 2-3 thousand people, however, this was not enough. It is so insufficient that the Khmer Rouge bought salt, a lot of salt from Thailand, for their fish factories.

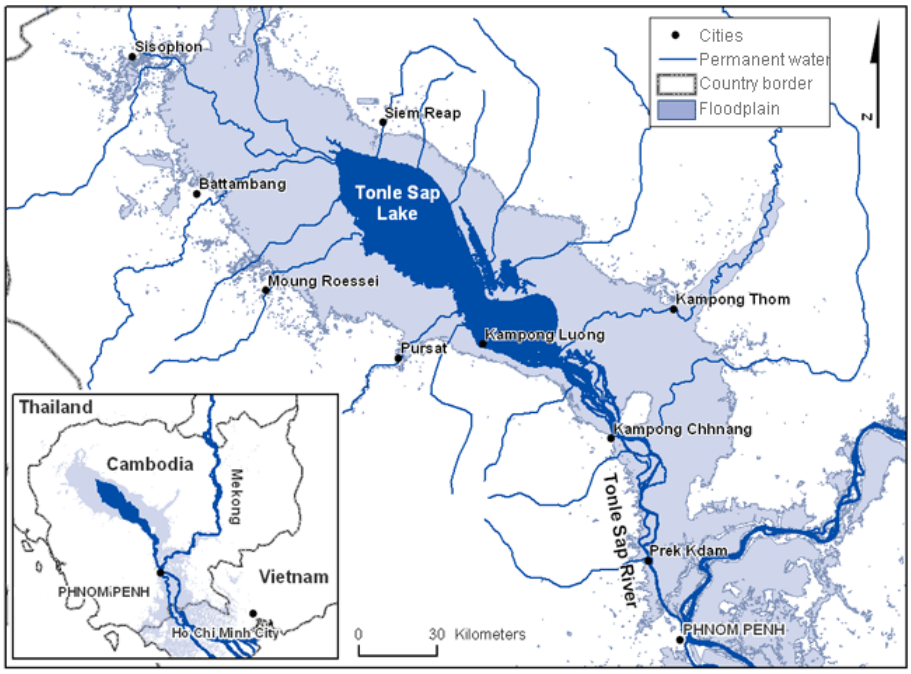

Figure 6. Map of the Tonle Sap Lake spill in Democratic Kampuchea

In Cambodia, the *production of pepper is well established*, unlike salt, which was constantly lacking. Even in the colonial era, large plantation farms were located in the Southwest and northwest. The largest amount of pepper was grown in the Southwestern zone (modern Kampot province), where there are huge plantations of the famous exquisite Kampot pepper, as well as the production of various spices, seasonings, and sauces has been established in the province since medieval times. The provinces of Battambang and Kandal produced spices on a lower scale. In modern Kampot, a variety of peppers are grown: capsicum, medicinal peppers, chilli pepper, the Kampot pepper, and others. Pepper was widely exported not only to China and British Hong Kong but also to many other countries, as can be confirmed by the fact that there was a great demand for it.

Sugar canes have been available in Kampuchea since ancient times. They are located in the modern provinces of Kampong Cham, Kampong Speu, and Battambang, moreover, in Kampuchea there are sugar and palm trees located in the provinces of Kampong Speu and Kampong Chhnang, which allow producing sugar and some traditional medicines [18]. Sugar extraction and production conventionally occupy priority positions for the peasantry in Cambodia, since two hectares of fruits and sugar palms cultivated for a whole year in Kampong Thom along the Mekong River brought more income than five hectares of rice fields in the areas of regular irrigation in Svay Rieng [18]. Sugar cane production in 1969 was 700 thousand tons, and in the war and post-war period, sugar cane production fell to 550 thousand tons (Fig. 7), which means a slight decline in production in wartime, unlike palm sugar – its harvest in 1969 was about 55 thousand tons, and in the post-war period of 1975 it was a little more than 30 thousand tons, the growth of palm sugar production during the reign of the Khmer Rouge was only 1.5-2% per year [18]. The development of palm-sugar enterprises was not expected, the Khmer Rouge paid more attention to cane sugar, which is also easier to extract.

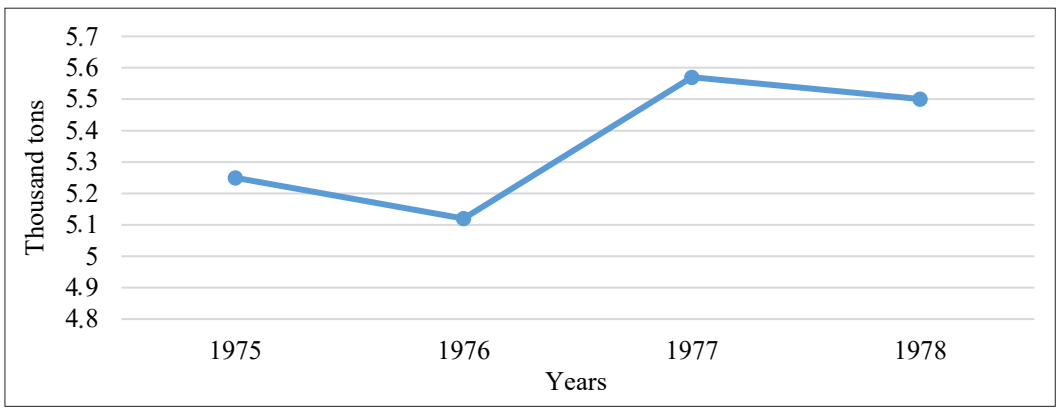

Figure 7. Statistics on the growth of sugar cane production in Democratic Kampuchea

Industrial rubber mining in Cambodia was initiated at the beginning of the 20th century with the "Rubber Fever" in Brazil, which led to the immigration of hundreds of thousands of Brazilians and Europeans who wanted to enrich themselves and collected rubber from Amazonian trees. The "rubber boom", as it is also called, spurred the development of rubber plantations around the world, since there was no desire to buy rubber from Brazilians and overpay when rubber trees have been growing in Southeast Asia for centuries and are still growing today. Thus, the British began to improve their plantations in Malaysia, and the French in Indochina, which affected the numerical and qualitative development of the factory proletariat in the future.

Natural rubber was the second main agricultural product in Kampuchea. Despite the fact that a huge number of rubber plantations were destroyed during the civil war, they were quickly rebuilt, just as quickly as rice plantations. After their restoration, rubber production increased two or three times annually: in 1975, about two and a half thousand tons of rubber were extracted, in 1976 – 7-8 thousand tons, in 1977 – 15 thousand tons, and in 1978 more than 25 thousand tons were produced (Fig. 8). During all this time, more than 55 thousand tons of natural rubber were extracted [3]. In 1975, almost two and a half thousand tons of rubber were delivered to China, in 1977 Kampuchea sold seven thousand tons of rubber to China, and in 1978 – about twenty thousand tons. Constant deliveries were also made to other countries.

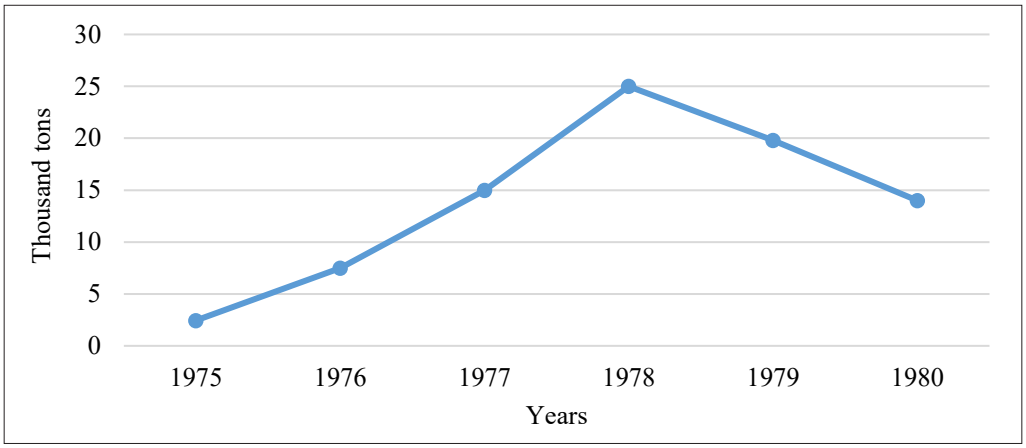

Figure 8. Statistics on the growth of rubber production in Democratic Kampuchea
Note: These graphs represent approximate data and may be inconsistent

In total, by 1980 it was expected to produce about 70 thousand tons of rubber (which is slightly more than the pre-war level of about 69 thousand tons) and to get about seventy million dollars on their sale. Mining was especially widespread in the Eastern Zone (modern province of Prey Veng). There was also rubber mining in the Northeastern Zone (Stung Treng province), which the Communists occupied at the beginning of the civil war and in which, despite the bombing, rubber was being mined [3]. It also produced latex and crepe.

Foreign aid in the context of the economic development of Democratic Kampuchea

The assistance of China, North Korea, and Albania to Democratic Kampuchea should also be mentioned. From 1976 to 1977, China actively supplied not only rice but also agricultural and industrial machinery. However, this assistance was much more modest, in contrast to military assistance. Thousands of Chinese specialists helped to restore destroyed factories and other infrastructure [3]. The number of Chinese technicians and advisers in Kampuchea increased to 15 thousand people by the end of 1978. They continued their work even after the beginning of the invasion of Vietnam and were evacuated only in early January, after receiving reports from the BBC about the unfavourable situation in the country [9; 19]. In general, China pledged to provide military, non-military, and financial assistance to Kampuchea in the amount of about one billion USD, which was the largest promise of assistance in the history of the PRC at that time [9]. The Chinese did not act disinterestedly: In 1975, the Khmer Rouge concluded a secret agreement with the Chinese, according to which they promised to pay for Chinese weapons with future supplies of rubber from Cambodia to China [3]. For Chinese aid, the Khmer Rouge had to supply goods to China at low prices, which certainly caused the Khmer Rouge to suffer heavy losses [9].

Koreans and Albanians also helped Kampuchea. North Korea supplied clothing, medicines, agricultural machinery, irrigation equipment (in particular hydroelectric generators), and sent specialists. Albania required assistance as well, so it only sent advisers and specialists, who, however, made a considerable contribution to the restoration of the country [3]. The North Koreans did the same: products of the steel, engineering, chemical, and textile industries, minerals, lathes, drills, and all kinds of tools were widely purchased from North Korea. The Khmer Rouge's relations with the Tirana were poor: the Khmer Rouge were annoyed that the Albanians were teaching them how to "build socialism", although they themselves were ready to teach everyone this, after the occupation of Kampuchea,

Albania recognised the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which completely undermined all the positive attitude of the Khmer Rouge to the Albanians. With regard to self-sufficiency and independence, the behaviour of Khieu Samphan during his visit to China in August 1975 is very indicative, when the Chinese were ready to discuss gratuitous assistance to Kampuchea, but Khieu Samphan insisted on signing an ordinary trade agreement [3].

It is worth mentioning Czechoslovaks, who made an invaluable contribution to the development of not only Cambodia but also a number of Asian, African, and even Latin American countries. About five Czechoslovak factories were built in Cambodia for about half a million dollars, which is the smallest part of all facilities that Czechoslovakia built in Asia: a number of power plants and factories were built in India, one of which, in Ranchi, cost 250 million crowns. Furthermore, Czechoslovakia provided loans to developing countries at 2% per annum and for a period of up to 12 years [20]. Regarding the socialist bloc countries, the assistance of the Soviet Union to developing countries is the only one that exceeds Czechoslovakia.

Conclusions

This study examines the state of the economy of Democratic Kampuchea in 1975-1979. According to the results of the study, in the second half of the 1970s, the Communist Party of Kampuchea still managed to restore agriculture and other domestic industry. The Khmer Rouge organised the Cambodians into communes, in the first year of their rule, they managed to collect enough rice to provide the peasants and workers who had returned to the cities with food, the standards of which grew annually. The industrial sector of the economy of Democratic Kampuchea was dominated by two industries at once: agricultural engineering and the light industry.

The victory in the civil war of the Khmer Rouge led to a new stage of industrial development. In 1976, an incredibly rapid growth began. The enormous role of friendly countries such as China, North Korea, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia and countries of the socialist and capitalist camps in the restoration of the economy of Democratic Kampuchea is substantiated. It was discovered that China helped to build textile, paper, plywood factories and a cement plant in the country free of charge; Czechoslovakia paid for the construction of sugar, tractor-automobile, tire, and rubber plants, Czechoslovak specialists participated in their construction; the French built an oil refinery, and the Americans developed social infrastructure. Furthermore, Democratic Kampuchea managed to develop trade relations with the countries of two opposing blocs: socialist and capitalist states. The prospects for further research are to conduct a comparative analysis of the economic development of individual historical periods of Cambodia establishment.

References

[1] Verkhoturov, D. (2018). *War on radio interception. Essays on the communist war in Cambodia.* Moscow: Samizdat.
[2] Ross, R.R. (1990). *Cambodia: A country study.* Washington: Library of Congress.
[3] Samorodnyi, O. (2013). *Pol Pot. Is Cambodia an empire on the bones?* Moscow: Algorithm.
[4] Chandler, D.P., Kiernan, B., & Boua, Ch. (1988). *Pol Pot plans the future. Confidential leadership documents from Democratic Kampuchea, 1976-1977.* New Haven: Yale Center for International and Area Studies.
[5] Dy, K., Chandler, D., & Cougill, W. (2007). *A history of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979).* New Haven: Documentation center of Cambodia.
[6] Okorokov, A. (2012). *Secret wars of the USSR. Soviet military experts in local conflicts of the 20th century.* Moscow: Veche.
[7] Carlow, T. (1974). *Cambodian army ammunition plant.* Fairfax: The American Rifleman.
[8] Tyner, J.A., & Rice, S. (2015). To live and let die: Food, famine, and administrative violence in Democratic Kampuchea, 1975-1979. *Political Geography*, 48, 1-10.
[9] Mertha, A. (2014). *Brothers in arms. Chinese aid to the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979.* New York: Cornell University Press.
[10] Galway, M. (2019). Specters of dependency: Hou yuon and the origins of Cambodia's marxist vision (1955-1975). *Cross-Currents,* 8(2), 589-633.
[11] Kharitonova, A. (2018). Visits of official delegations from the Kingdom of Cambodia in the USSR as an element of the Norodom Sihanouk's foreign policy strategy (1953-1970). *Proceedings of Petrozavodsk State University*, 5(174), 17-22.
[12] Albania–Cambodia, from hero to zero. (2018). Retrieved from cambodiatokampuchea.wordpress.com/2018/08/16/albaniacambodia-from-hero-to-zero/.
[13] Vietnam – Cambodia – Laos – Japan – The President of the ICRC in Czechoslovakia – Missions in Central Europe. (1966). Retrieved from https://international-review.icrc.org/sites/default/files/S0020860400087842a.pdf.
[14] Podymov, A., & Chichkin, A. (2021). *Ceausescu and Pol Pot: The enemy of my enemy is my friend.* Retrieved from https://topwar.ru/178904-chaushesku-i-pol-pot-vrag-moego-vraga-moj-drug.html.
[15] Tyner, J.A., & Will, R. (2015). Nature and post-conflict violence: water management under the Communist Party of Kampuchea, 1975-1979. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 40(3), 362-374.
[16] Mosyakov, D. (2010). *History of Cambodia XX century.* Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies RAS.
[17] Cambodia. 1.4. Hydrology. (2021). Retrieved from http://www.wepa-db.net/policies/state/cambodia/overview1_4.htm.

[18] Jaggery and confectionary. (2021). Retrieved from http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/SubHead_Products/Jaggery_and_Confectionary.htm.
[19] Mahanty, S. (2019). Shadow economies and the state: A comparison of cassava and timber networks on the Cambodia-Vietnam Frontier. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 49(2), 193-215.
[20] Platoshkin, N. (2016). *Spring and autumn of Czechoslovak socialism. Czechoslovakia in 1938-1968 Part 2: Autumn of Czechoslovak socialism. 1948-1968.* Moscow: Dmitry Pozharsky University Press.

Тенденції економічного розвитку Демократичної Кампучії (1975–1979 рр.)

Денис Євгенович Купріянов

Регіональний центр професійної освіти будівельних технологій Харківської області
61121, вул. Владислава Зубенка, 39, м. Харків, Україна

Анотація. Актуальність наукової роботи визначається потребою в дослідженні окремих історичних етапів економічного розвитку Камбоджі для формування підґрунтя подальшого вдосконалення економічної системи. Метою роботи було аналітично проаналізувати становлення економіки Демократичної Кампучії та роль дружніх країн в її формуванні. Вивчення обраної тематики проводилось із використанням загальнонаукових методів дослідження, зокрема аналізу, синтезу та порівняння. У статті розглянуто економіку Демократичної Кампучії середини другої половини 70-х років. Визначено, що після здобуття повної незалежності від французьких колонізаторів з подальшою боротьбою за незалежність проти американців й початком ери Червоних кхмерів, виникла потреба у відновленні та оздоровленні економіки держави. У процесі дослідження було описано загальний стан ключових галузей промисловості Демократичної Кампучії, зокрема легкої, харчової, сільськогосподарської машинобудівної, важкої, електронної, будівельної, лісової, хімічної, гумової та військової; принципи ведення торгових відносин з країнами соціалістичного та капіталістичного табору, а також особливості розвитку сільського господарства в умовах правління Червоних кхмерів. Результати аналізу показали, що в цей період республіці вдалось відновити сільське господарство й забезпечити його подальший розвиток, а оновлена промисловість вже повноцінно функціонувала за підтримки країн-друзів. Практична цінність наукової роботи визначена цілісною характеристикою економічної системи Демократичної Кампучії, що сприяє функціональному вирішенню економічних проблем сучасної Камбоджі

Ключові слова: сільське господарство, економічні відносини, промисловість, статистика урожайності, соціалістична та капіталістична ідеології

View publication stats